

A

REVIEW OF THE STATE OF THE BRITISH NATION.

Saturday, December 15. 1711.

I Am now to speak to the Objection mention'd in my last, viz.

The Proposals of FRANCE, and which they desire to Treat upon, are Founded on a Supposition, of having Spain and the Indies left to King Philip; and therefore to Treat with him on the Foot of these Proposals, is to Treat with him on that Supposition.

I Answer,

This Objection is Founded on a general Mistake, viz. That these Proposals are Preliminaries of a Treaty.

This, I hear, has been warmly Debated in another Place, but I have nothing to do with that; I cannot take them in the Sense

of Preliminaries, nor do I think they can be understood so—If Any Man will Convince me, that the French Understand them so, I shall never open my Mouth for any Treaty, but abhor the Thoughts of it as much as any of you all.

To decide this, it seems necessary to State what we mean by Preliminaries, and I'll give it you two Ways, That that Word is us'd among us, for it is a Modern Word, as it is now us'd.

1. Heads of Agreement, upon the Foundation of which, and no other, a Treaty is to be form'd.

2. Previous

2. Previous Conditions, so full and essential, that the Congress has nothing to do, but to give them the Form of a Treaty.

The rest of these, are the very Words of the *Hanover Memorial*, and therefore I presume will not be Disputed; now it is manifest, these Proposals, which we would call Preliminaries, have neither of these Significations, and really I cannot but wonder, to see the Thing so Universally mistaken.

Should all the Plenipotentiaries meet, and the French being to make Offers, should throw down these Proposals, Would the Confederates enter to a Treaty upon them? No, no, every Prince will be there, to make his particular Demands, and require a Categorical Answer, whether the French will yield to this, or no, and enter into Debates upon the Particulars?

The Queen's Answer to the Lord's Address, is plain to this Sense, when Her Majesty tells them, she should be Sorry any one could think she would not do her Utmost, to recover Spain and the West-Indies from the House of Bourbonne.

And yet all the Opposers of the present Treaty have gone upon this very Supposition, That Spain and the Indies was to be deliver'd up to France; my Insolent Opposer, the *Observer*, has constantly charged me with Suggesting it, tho' I never said any Thing like it; tho' I said, may he be Hang'd that gives one Foot of Ground to France, that they can keep from him; and has supported his Blander with the most Dishonourable Actions: How should I expect any other, &c. ? — Why should I be Concern'd at this Way of Usage, when they have us'd the Queen in the same manner?

And yet all this while, here appears no Inclination to the Thing, at least I do not see it; the Queen declares against it; neither will her Majesty omit her Utmost Endeavour to the contrary: What then have the Mail-Men of this Age been doing all this while, but by Inuendoe's and Suppositions, blitting those they do not like, and

branding the Sincerest Intentions, where they have not run their own length; Charging Men with turning about, and betraying their Country and Friends, when they at the same Time, are betraying their own Blindness and Passion only, of which, in this Case, they have shewn no Government?

I take these Proposals, to be only Expressions of the French King's real Intention, if it be real, to make Peace, Express'd to the Queen of Great Britain, in order to Convince her Majesty, that he will sincerely apply himself to Satisfie all the Allies, if they will but meet him, and to prevail with her Majesty to obtain an Appointment for a Treaty.

Upon this Foot I Argue, ~~and no otherwise~~; and therefore I must beg leave to think all that Labour lost, which is spent to Canvass the Articles, and to Expose their double Meaning — *We do not take them as Preliminaries* — If the French should say, they design to Treat on them, as such, or on the Foot of these Articles, I should be the first to say, the Proposals of such a Treaty were Absurd and Ridiculous; and we should reject a Treaty under such Limitations, with Contempt, and fight on, till we bring him to sing another Tune.

But as they are Proposals to signify only his Resolution at a Treaty, to give all the Allies Satisfaction, certainly her Majesty has done the most Rational Thing in the World, to move the Allies to Treat with him, and waving Matters of Form, to hear what he says.

If, on a Treaty, it appears that he is not Sincere, and does not heartily come into the Thing, viz. Peace, with Reasonable Satisfaction to all the Allies — He abuses the Queen's Confidence, and we cannot doubt, her Majesty will let France know, She is in a Condition to Resent it.

Perhaps it may be, *as some say*, That France taking Encouragement from our Divisions at Home, may flatter himself, with making some Advantage of it, and this may put him upon making higher Demands upon that Account, at a Treaty; *Suppose this*, and let the blame of it lie on the Authors

of those unhappy Divisions, let them be who they will ; But when he finds the Allies unanimous, resolv'd not to yield to any Thing without Reason and Safety ; and when the French see they are deceiv'd, what will be the Consequence ? Either they must comply, or continue the War, and if it be, as we hope that they are not in a Condition to carry on the War, they will most certainly comply.

This, therefore, is the happy View of a Treaty, viz. That France will be Undeceived in its Hopes of the Confederates, either complying with him, or dividing their Interests, and will be the more readily brought to comply ; and all this strongly Argues for a Treaty, at least, in my Opinion.

I know it is expected I should descend to Particulars, but it is none of my Work, nor of my Design ; only one Thing, rather to clear myself from the Unjust Imputation of Arguing for a French Interest, than for a desire to enter into particular Cases, I must speak to.

The Reproach some People strive to raise upon the Author of this Paper, is purely upon the Time of Things ; you would have been all, as well as I, against Aggrandizing the House of Austria, if it had not been just now — And why just now ? Because you erroneously imagine, That the Spanish Monarchy can be given to done, but Philip Duke of Anjou, or Charles Arch-Duke of Austria, which is a Gross and Absurd Mistake.

Let such People, if they can, Answer me this Question — Charles III. was the Emperor's Younger Brother, the unquestion'd Right was the Emperor's.

Pray, Why was not the Spanish Monarchy given to the Emperor who was the Heir ? But to the Arch-Duke Charles, who had nothing to do with it ?

If they can give any other Reason, than because he was Emperor, then I'll acquiesce.

If they cannot, then the same Reason why an Emperor should not have it

then, tho' it was his Undoubted Right, holds good, why an Emperor should not have it now.

But must it go all to Philip, because it must not go all to the Emperor ? — Is this a just Consequence ? NO, NO, Nor does it prove that you must give one Inch of Spain to Philip, unless you please — Are there no Allies who have wasted their Blood and Treasure to carry on this Terrible War, and who, in Justice, ought to receive not only Satisfaction, but a Reward for all the Expence and Loss of so long a War ?

Are there no Allies who ought to be made strong out of this Mass of Power ; so that no farther Terrors should put them in Hazard from the Exorbitance, either of France or Germany ?

That a Treaty must Issue in a Partition of the Spanish Dominions, I believe nobody doubts ; the Ignorant Opposer of this Argument, at the same Time that he deny'd it, brought the Portugal Treaty upon the Stage, and says, we must be honest to our Treaties, by which very Treaty, a piece of the Spanish Monarchy is parted, or Partitioned off, as we may call it, for Vigo, and the Province of Estranadura, is there promis'd to the King of Portugal.

In such a Partition, every Branch will have something — And what must we have ? What, for all the Blood and Treasure spent, and Damage suffer'd ?

Why, What would you have, says a ready Objector ?

I know very well what we would have, and what we want — We would have Peace with Safety ; We would have Trade Secur'd, Power Ballanc'd ; We would have neither Austria nor Bourbonne, Exorbitantly Great.

I am none of those, and openly and profess'dly have declar'd it all along, that would have the Spanish Monarchy given to France, or to Philip V. I laid this down at first, as my Opinion, tho' the Partial, Dishonorable

able Opposer takes no notice of it: But I'll go farther, I am directly against giving Spain and the Indies to the House of Bourbone, and therefore I make the less Opposition to those People, who fill us with Dismal Stories, more than are probable, upon that Head, let them believe it as bad as they will.

But it is impossible to persuade me also, that you should give all the Spanish Monarchy to the Emperor; and therefore I ask, if there are no Powers to be made strong but these two, and if We have nothing to ask?

There is a Condition which I should think it less Dangerous to give Spain and the Indies to the Emperor, and that is, if his Imperial Majesty will quit Italy, by which means, his Dominions would be more effectually Separated, and the Italian Princes being kept Independent, would be as a Hook in the Nostrils of the Leviathan,

and I doubt not that the Reasonableness of such a Demand, is one of the great Reasons why the Emperor refuses a Treaty, being willing, if possible, to keep them both.

But if this Refoliate Step should produce the contrary Effects, and he should venture to save the Saddle, at the Risque of losing the Horse, it may be, that the Confederacy may suffer for it, but I am sure the Blame of it will be his own;

It has been Disputed, whether France will Establish sufficient Barriera to the Confederates, &c.? This I have nothing to do with here; I see every Body eager for Foreign Barriers, I wish some-body would think of a good English Barrier to our American Colonies, by obliging the French to restore Canada and New-found-land, both which were our Ancient Right, and the Importance whereof, I shall take a farther occasion to mention.

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